The Mistakes of the Guildsmen.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. IX. No. 3. SATURDAY, APRIL 1st, 1922. [WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

KUZBAS

Sylvia Pankhurst asks in Vol. IX, No. 1, of the *Dreadnought*, in an article, "Kuzbas or Communism," "Might not Communism have been attempted amongst the members of the Kuzbas Community?"

A similar question was asked more than a century ago by Charles Fourier, in regard to his Phalanstrères, and history has answered his question.

Our attitude towards "Socialist" colonies has been bought with enough misery and tears to make it a crime to forget. Even Russia itself is not big enough to "establish" Communism apart from the rest of the world, let alone Kuzbas.

What Soviet Russia can do for the present is to strengthen the economic basis for Communism and to hold out with its political power as the strongest bulwark against reaction and a possible support for revolutionary movements in the rest of the world. This is no Communism, but it has something to do with the class struggle. Kuzbas has no greater ambition than to strengthen Soviet Russia as a factor in the class struggle. Whoever denies that Soviet Russia is a stronghold in the international class struggle should have neither interest nor criticism towards Kuzbas.

Since the avowed purpose of Kuzbas is to strengthen the Workers' Republic economically, the control in the hands of the Soviet Government is only natural. Kuzbas is a Soviet State enterprise, the product of which belongs to the Soviet Republic. This is clearly stated in the prospectus. The expression, "the full product belongs to the workers," may create some misunderstanding; but it is rather usual in America, and simply means that no parasitic class will take a share in the products. The products of common labour are "a social possession" reads the prospectus. If the American workers receive more than the Russian peasants, it is because they will not and cannot work with their maximum efficiency for less. If men could starve and work at the same time, Russia would not be retreating in her efforts to obtain Communism.

"Russian workers within the Unit will have the same legal and material rights as the other participants from America and other countries."

This is quoted by Miss Pankhurst from the prospectus, and it is plain language. Nowhere is it stated that Russians will have to pay any amount of money; in fact, they will not, and Russians that want to continue their work, will automatically enter the Unit.

Meetings have been held, together with these Russians, and they were anxious that the Americans should come as soon as possible. The Russian workers will control Kuzbas in the measure they control their own Soviet Government, besides having the same rights as participants in Kuzbas, as all those who work therein.

The details of the project for Kuzbas will be largely decided by efficiency, dependent upon the changing economic conditions of its surroundings, and under the control of the Soviet Government. The future of Kuzbas depends upon the future of the Workers' Republic. If the latter is beaten by foreign capital; if the Red Army no longer protects Kuzbas as part of Soviet Russia, the workers of Kuzbas will be the old slaves again, under the old masters. If Russia holds out nationally, but the Communist Party loses political control, Kuzbas may become an ordinary capitalist State enterprise. But Kuzbas will contribute towards preventing these possibilities, by strengthening the economic power of Soviet Russia, and therefore should have the sympathy and support of all true revolutionists.

Incidentally, I must correct the statement about the finances: it is required to pay travelling expenses until the Russian border, estimated for Americans, at 100 dollars each; clothing and food, estimated again at 100 dollars, and a contribution towards buying tools and machinery, of 100 dollars per worker, on an average.

A number of American workers have won that much and more in war-time, and some have not yet lost it, although unemployment will soon eat it all. But if one cannot pay, several may delegate and equip a pioneer from among their midst.

For the benefit of prospective pioneers, and to prevent disillusions, however, it must be borne in mind that Kuzbas is not an effort to help some foreign workers; but to strengthen Soviet Russia as a factor in the class struggle.

S. J. RUTGERS.

A DEFENCE.

LOCKED OUT.

WHAT WE WANT TO KNOW.

We ask Comrade Rutgers whether all the Russian workers and peasants living in the Kuzbas area, including those who will be employed by the Unit as unskilled workers, become automatically members of the foreign workers' Units, with the same rights of control and management as the foreign workers? (These rights, even for the foreign workers, seems to us decidedly shadowy.)

(*Continued on page 7.*)

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ORIGINAL DETECTIVE.

DESIRABLE MANSIONS.

By Edward Carpenter.

(Continued.)

The stream of human life goes past. When a rich man builds himself a prison, he puts up these fences to keep the world out—to shut himself in. If he can, he builds far back from the high road. In front of his house he has a boundless polite lawn, with polite flower beds, afar from vulgar people and animals. Rows of polite servants attend upon him; and there, of inanity and politeness he dies. Of what human life really consists, he has little idea. He has not the faintest notion of what is necessary for human life or happiness. Sometimes, with an indistinct vision of accumulated evil, he says: "Poor So-and-So, he has only £200 a year to keep his wife and family on!" No wonder his own daughters dedicate themselves to "good works." They go out with the curate and visit at the neighbouring cottages. Their visits have little appreciable effect on the people; but are of great benefit to the themselves and the curate. They observe for the first time how life is carried on; they see the operations of scrubbing and cooking (removed in their own houses afar from mortal eye); perhaps they behold a mother actually suckling her babe, and learn that such things are possible; finally they "wonder" how "those people" live, and to them their wonder (like the fear of God) is the beginning of wisdom.

The lord of the manor sits on the magisterial bench, or strides about his fields, and lumps together all who are not in a similar position to himself, as "the lower classes." After dinner, in the evening, if the conversation turns on politics, he and his compeers discuss the importance of keeping the said lower classes in order, or the best method of "raising" them out of the ignorance and prejudice in which they are supposed to wallow. And during the conversation it will be noticed that it is by everyone tacitly allowed and understood, and is, in fact, the very foundation of the whole argument, that the speakers themselves belong to an educated class, whilst the mass of the people are uneducated. Yet this is exactly the reverse of the truth—for they themselves belong to an ill-educated class, and the mass of the people are, by the very nature of the case, the better educated of the two.

In fact, the education of the one set of people (and it is a great pity that it should be so) consists almost entirely in the study of books. That is very useful in its way, and if properly balanced with other things; but it is hardly necessary to point out that books only deal with phantoms and shadows of reality. The education of the world at large, and the real education lies, and must always lie, in dealing with the things themselves. To put it shortly (as it has been said before), one man learns to spell a "spade," to write it or to rhyme it, to translate it into French and Latin—possibly, like Wordsworth, to address a sonnet to it—the other man learns to *use* it. Is there any comparison between the two?

Now, is it not curious that those good people, sitting round their dinner table in the desirable mansion, or listening to a little music in the drawing-room, should actually be so ignorant of the world, and what goes on it, as to think, and honestly believe, that *they are par excellence*, the educated people in it?* Does it ever occur to them, I often think, to imagine who made all the elegant and costly objects with which they are surrounded? Does it ever occur to them, as they tacitly assume the inferiority of the working classes, to think of the table itself, across which they speak—how beautifully fitted, veneered, polished; the cloth which lies upon it, and the weaving of it; the chairs and other furniture, so light and yet so strong, each requiring the skill of years to make: the silver, the glass, the steel, the tempering, hardening, grinding fitting, riveting; the lace and damask curtains, the wonderful machinery, the care, the delicate touch adroit manipulation; the piano; the very house in which they spend their days? Is there one I say, who we will not say could make even the smallest part, but who even has the faintest idea how one of these things is made, where it is made, who makes it? Not one. All the care, the loving thought, the artistic design, the conscientious workmanship that have been expended, and are daily expended, on these things and the like of them—go past them unrecognised and unacknowledged.

The great hymn of human labour over the earth is to them an idle song. There in the midst of all these beautiful products of human toil and ingenuity, possessing but not enjoying, futile they sit, and fancy themselves educated—fit to rule.

I have heard of a fly that sat, stinging, upon the hindquarters of a horse, and fancied that without it, the cart would not go. Fancied so, I say, until the great beast whisked its tail, and after that it fancied nothing more.

Do I put these things in a strong light? Maybe, I do; but I put them faithfully as I have seen them, and as I see them daily. I do not suppose that riches are evil in themselves. I do not suppose that anything is an evil in itself. I know that even in the midst of all these shackles and impediments, that most wonderful of things, the human soul, may work out its own salvation; and well I know that there are no conditions or circumstances of human life, nor any profession, from a king to a prostitute that may not become to it the gateway of freedom and immortality. But I daily see people setting this standard of well-to-do respectability before them, daily more and more hastening forth in quest of desirable mansions to dwell in; and I cannot but wonder whether they realise what it is they seek: I cannot lend my voice to swell the chorus of encouragement. Here are the clean facts. Choose for yourselves. That is all.

Respectability! Heavy-browed and hunch-backed word! Once innocent and light-hearted as any other word, why now, in thy middle age, art thou become so gloomy and saturnine? Is it that thou art responsible for the murder of the innocents? Respectability! Vision of clean hands and blameless dress—why dost thou now appear in the form of a ghoul before me?

I confess that the sight of a dirty hand is dear to me. It warms my heart with all manner of good hopes and promises. Often and long have I thought about this matter, and in all good faith I must say that I fail to see how hands that are always clean are compatible with honesty. That is no play upon words. I fail to see how, in the long run, any man that takes his share in the work of the world can keep his hands in this desirable state.

How? The answer is obvious enough—leave others to do the dirty work. Good! Let it be so; let it be granted that others shall do the scrubbing and baking, the digging, the fishing, the breaking of horses, the carpentering, smithing, and the myriad other jobs that have to be done, and you at the pinnacle of all this pyramid of work, above all, keep your hands clean. We shouting to you from below, exhort you, at all costs, keep your hands clean! Think how important it is while the great ships have to be got into harbour, that your nails should be blameless! Think if, by accident, you were to do a real good piece of work, and get your hands thoroughly grimed over it, unwashable for a week, what confusion would ensue to yourself and friends! Think, O think of your clients, or of your next dinner party, and earnestly and prayerfully resolve that such a fall may not be yours. Seek, we pray you, some secure work—some legal, clerical, official, capitalist, or land-owning business, safe from the dread stain of dirty hands, whatever other dirt it may bring with it—some thoroughly gentlemanly profession, marking you clearly off from the vulgar and general masses, and the blessing of heaven go with you!

Shut yourself off from the great stream of life, from the great sources of physical and moral health; ignore the common labour by which you live, show clearly your contempt for it, your dislike of it, and then ask others to do it for you; turn aside from nature; divorce yourself from the living breathing heart of the nation; and then you will have done what the governing classes of England to-day have done, have given full directions to your heart and brain to shrivel and starve and die.

Man is made to work with his hands. This is a fact which cannot be got over. From this central fact he cannot travel far. I don't care whether it is an individual or a class, the life which is far removed from this becomes corrupt, shrivelled and diseased. You may explain it how you like, but it is so. Administrative work has to done in a nation, as well as productive work; but it must be done by men accustomed to manual labour, who have the healthy decision and primitive authentic judgment which comes of that, else it cannot be done well. In the new form of society which is slowly advancing upon us, this will be felt more than now. The higher the position of trust a man occupies, the more will it be thought important that, at some period of his life, he should have been thoroughly inured to manual work; this not only on account of the physical and moral robustness implied by it, but equally because it will be seen to be impossible for anyone, without this experience of what is the very flesh and blood of national life, to promote the good health of the nation, or to understand the conditions under which the peple live whom he has to serve.

But to return to the sorrows of the well-to-do—and care that sits on the crupper of wealth. This is a world-old and well-worn subject. Yet, possibly, some of its truisms may bear repeating. A clergyman, preaching once on the trials of life, turned first to his rich friends and bade them call to mind, one by one, the sorrows and sufferings of the poor; then, turning to his "poorer brethren" he exhorted them also not to forget that the rich man had his afflictions—with which they should sympathise—amongst which all afflictions, growing chiefly out of their much money, he reckoned 'last, but not least, the difficulty of finding for it an investment which should be profitable and also secure!" It has been generally supposed that the poorer brethren failed to sympathise with this form of suffering. *(to be continued).*

* . . . . People who roll about in their fine equipages, scarcely knowing what to do with themselves, or what ails them, and some of whom occasionally run to such places as ours to have their carriage linings or cushions altered, or to know if they can be altered, as *they don't feel quite comfortable!* I often think, "God help them, for no one else can. . . !"

I insert this extract, just to show how these things are regarded from the side which does not usually find expression. It is from a letter written by an elderly and kind-hearted man, employed in a carriage factory.

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This verse was written on the prison slate by the author during her six months' imprisonment in Holloway Gaol, and is printed as then conceived, as a memory and as a document.

ESPERANTO—FOR WHOM?

By L. A. Motler.

I was waiting for Barry to turn up at the office, when a comrade came in. It appeared he also wanted to see Barry, so after exchanging courtesies and cigarettes, we began talking on the unemployed. Somehow this led up to the articles on Esperanto appearing in the *Dreadnought*.

"Personally," said my comrade, who was from Liverpool and whose name I got as Read, "I believe in Esperanto, myself. I have studied *la kara lingvo*, as I note from the green star in your coat, you have also, but you must admit it is beyond the workers, generally."

"I fail to see that," I remarked, picking up the report of the Red International of Labour Unions from the table. "The Russians—for we need no longer differentiate by saying Bolsheviks—have found it quite the thing for their schools."

"Schools, of course, I admit," replied Read, "can manage it; but I mean the workers as a whole."

"Well," I made response, "you must surely admit that the Russian children who are learning Esperanto are workers' children."

"Children are more amenable to learning," he said, "A man who has work to do can hardly find time."

"I thought you were trying to insist that the workers as a whole could not master Esperanto, never mind the time for it," I remarked.

"That is all in the argument, isn't it?"

I threw away my cigarette. Then:

"I am not making an argument of it," I replied. "Call it a discussion. In an argument one is apt to take things as making one disputant right and the other wrong. In a discussion one just meets the points as they crop up, without striving to browbeat one's adversary or to leave off the conversation if you see signs of converting the other man——"

"Just as you like," he said, laughing.

"Well, then," I said briskly, "we will get on better. With regard to your point, that Esperanto would not be easy for the workers, I just pointed out that the Russian children were learning it. Now my point was to show that these children, although illiterate themselves in the beginning, and children of illiterate parents to boot, do not appear to have found any difficulty with Esperanto. Now, generally speaking, the British worker is supposed to be learned, compared to his Russian mate, so ——"

"Agreed!" said Read. "What about the time to be found?"

"Naturally, that is a stiff proposition," I assented. "I know, of course, that even if the worker had time, he would probably be too tired after the day's work, especially if—as so often happens—he does his work on bad food, or very little of it. I will agree, then, that as far as the majority of the workers under the present system are concerned, we can leave Esperanto off the menu."

"Then," he asked, "why put Esperanto into the *Dreadnought*?"

The working class who read the *Dreadnought* are certainly either in the movement, or on the threshold of it. This again presupposes that these workers have time to read a paper. Naturally they would also have a little extra time to learn Esperanto, although, of course, if they read the Exercises, they cannot help learning whilst reading."

"Well, yes," he assented. "But once having learnt *la kara lingvo*, they won't have much opportunity to use it."

"They can surely start circles amongst themselves in their districts, to study, or introduce it into existing classes, or they can join an Esperanto Club——"

"I know those Esperanto Clubs," groaned Read.

"Now you mention it, so do I," remarked myself, remembering small cliques of petty-bourgeois, pacifistically inclined before the war, but moving with the mass when the drums rolled and the guns roared, driven back on suggesting Esperanto to the Government for its anti-German propaganda, for the Red Cross, but not as a means of bringing peace amongst the peoples. "Yes, I remember. Well, we will call the Esperanto Clubs off. One certainly cannot be in two movements at once, as I myself have found out. But to revenue to our lamb chops, as O. Henry has it. You were saying that the workers would have no use for Esperanto once they had learnt it?"

"Yes," assented Read. "And, mind you, I call off the postcard biznay. What's the use of it?"

"Certainly certainly," I agreed. "The postcard biznay is a trifle expensive for a worker whose income does not soar beyond one sausage and mashed. First you buy the picture postcards, then you buy the stamps to send 'em off. Free pens and ink may be had on application, or without, at any post office. Then you have to buy an album for all the replies you get, or else give them to your neighbour's boy who is collecting disused stamps to convert the happy cannibals to wage-slavery. Then——"

Read groaned. I thought he would be getting ill soon, so I manfully held up my list.

"But enough," I said. "I will torture you no further, or you will be casting yourself into yonder dark and flowing stream. Excuse my language," I said, pretending to pull out my handkerchief. "But you were saying about the— certainly, I remember. Well, I should say that if any reader who has learnt Esperanto does not know what to do with it, he should wait round the corner for the first foreigner that comes along, and pounce on him—but here comes Barry. *Bonan vesperon, kamarado.*"

S. O. S.

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By Tom Anderson.

"Henry."

He was called "Henry," and he was quite respectable, and he belonged to a numerous family. His father was a "Henry," and his mother was called "Henrietta.'

Strange as it may seem, "Henry" voted and worked for a man who lived in a big mansion and drove about in a motor car.

"Henry," in his young days, was very patriotic, and went to the Great World War because the big man told him he had "a Country."

"Henry," of course, had been taught at school that he had "a Country." His teacher was also a "Henry," and as a quite natural sequence, "Henry was taught that he had "a Country." His parson also taught him the same lesson.

When he became a man he joined the A.E.U. and they told him the same story, as all the officials were "Henry's," and not only the officials, but nearly every member of the Union was a "Henry." When "Henry" was sent as a delegate to the Trade Union Congress, he was taught the same lesson, also "Constitutional Action," "One Step at a Time," "A Fair Day's Work for a Fair Day's Wage." He was also told, "The poor ye shall always have with you." It was impre sed upon him that he was a "Craftsman," with a higher status than the labourer, and that labourers and craftsmen could not be members of the same Union.

So "Henry" blossomed into an "Out and Out-er," joined the Labour Party, and in course of time became a Labour M.P. His job then was to tell the other young "Henrys" coming along the way, what to do to become as great as he himself was; so he dropped the name of "Henry," and took the name of "Fat."

The other "Henrys" envied him and called him names, but "Fat," alias "Henry" kept on his way, and the Government of the greatest country in the world gave him a seat in the Cabinet in order to win the Great World War.

He and the other members of the Cabinet won the Great World War: after that they told the "Henrys" they must "produce more" and drop their war wages.

At first the "Henrys" were against it, but "Fat" said it must be, or else he would not give them work. Some of the "Henrys" rebelled, especially the miners, so their masters put their threat into operation in the year of grace, April 1921, and starved the miners out.

The miners asked their pals, the "Triple Alliance," to help them, but a "doubting Thomas" said it could not be done, as he had to go to America, to tell the American workers how well the British workers were organised, and such being the case, it would be better for the miners to give in. The miners then called upon Williams, the "Fat" man of the Transport Workers, but he said: "You cannot win; it would be better for you to wait until some other day. Thus, between the two of them, they nearly killed the miners.

Then "Fat," that is, the head man of the British nation, paid off his workers—nearly two millions of them. When the "Henrys" saw this, they cried out: "Dear, kind masters, do allow us to live, and we will work harder and harder and take less wages," but "Fat" would not listen. Thus the "Henrys" walked the streets for months, hoping against hope that "trade" would take a turn and that "Fat" would be able to take them back again. But the day never came, and many "Henrys" died, and the Labour Party came into power and made it a criminal offence to say anything against the State.

Then all the "Henrys" joined the Salvation Army, in order to secure a seat in the "Happy Land," and the King married his only daughter to an old man, in order that the "Henrys" might have a little enjoyment. After that there came a Revolution, and the foundations of our great Empire passed away, and so did all the "Henrys."

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OUR VIEW ON THE LOCK-OUT.

The workers in the engineering industry have at length shown, by their tardily-taken ballots, that they intend to stand shoulder to shoulder in the present Lock-Out.

It is evident, however, that the Trade Union officials are still unprepared to take such action as will give the workers a chance of winning the present struggle. It is also important to observe that the terrific sacrifices, by which alone the workers may secure a victory, should be made for something very much bigger than the mere maintaining of conditions as they are.

The employers' terms actually mean that they object to any interference from the Trade Union officials in the matter of overtime or, in fact, any other matter. To give the Unions a bad beating is the main motive of the employers: the actual point on which they have sought a quarrel is not in itself very large: there is not likely to be much call for overtime at present though it is true that, with the present great numbers of unemployed, all overtime seems peculiarly indefensible now. But the main motive of the employers is to give the workers a bad beating; because then the employers will be in a strong position, to do as they please upon all questions, whether of overtime, wages, hours, Trade Union rules and practices, or general conditions of labour.

If the employers win the present Lock-Out, they will take full advantage of their victory; they will do far more for themselves than merely secure the terms of the workers' ultimatum which the workers have just refused. The miners have learnt that by painful experience since their own defeat.

If the workers win, it will be at the cost of far greater sacrifices than the employers will make in the struggle. Shall the workers remain content, then, with merely rebutting the employers' ultimatum, which is plainly a pretext for locking-out the workers, in order to reduce them to a state of weakness in which the employers will be able to impose upon the workers what conditions they please? Surely the workers should now set their own terms for the struggle.

We have said that the Trade Union officials are unprepared to fight in such a way that the workers will have a chance of winning.

This is realised by the Barrow Council of Action (representing all the local Unions concerned), which, according to the *Daily Herald*, has decided to take the initiative in summoning a national rank and file conference, "with a view to saving the workers from disaster and a repetition of Black Friday."

We are glad of this action: any rank and file action is likely to tend towards the awakening of the actual workers who are at present but pawns in the game being played by the employers and the Union officials; a game most inefficiently played by the latter. Nevertheless, whilst worthy of support, in lieu of something better and more appropriate, the move made by the Barrow Council of Action would be more effective were the parties to the conference organised on the workshop basis, and were they conscious revolutionaries seeking the opportunity to overthrow Capitalism altogether.

The pamphlet on the Lock-Out, just issued by the Amalgamated Engineering Union, reveals the intention to fight this great fight in the old, inefficient, half-hearted way. It says that had the employers precipitated the struggle in April 1921, the A.E.U. would have been "in a much better position financially for entering upon a national struggle," its funds having since been depleted by payment of unemployment benefit.

Apparently there is no realisation of the fact that it cannot be by Trade Union funds that any great dispute with employers, nationally federated, can be won to-day. The purse of the employers is immeasurably deeper than that of the Unions.

To win, the workers must act together as a class, and run the industries for themselves: that is the only way. No other has a chance of success. Is that to be learnt only in the bitter school of starvation, of oppression, and oft-repeated defeat?

Mr. Arthur Henderson has pointed out that "this is the first national dispute in which the help and advice of the National Joint Council (composed of the Trade Union Congress E.C., Labour Party E.C. and Parliamentary Labour Party) has been available to the Unions." His eulogies of the Council in negotiation appear, however, to be somewhat premature.

Those workers who still preserve some faith in the old Trade Unionism and its leaders, and in the Parliamentary Labour Party, should ask themselves whether, when the employers have flouted the Council and broken off negotiations, the parties to the Council will arrange for joint action by all the bodies they represent.

Will the Trade Union officials on the Council arrange for a united fight by all the Unions, in order that the engineers may not be ignominiously defeated as the miners were?

We think not.

Yet the members of the Unions could enforce joint action, were they ready to take it, not by sending resolutions to the Council and the Union Executives, but by giving their officials a lead in action, as has so often been done before, but not quite recently, and never upon a united scale.

We have said that if the workers take this fight seriously, if they suffer all the heavy and bitter consequences of refusing to accept the employers' terms, they ought to set their terms and fight for objects worthy of their heroic struggle. This they can do. They can do it now, or at any stage in the struggle; but the sooner the better.

The Number 4 branch of the A.E.U. at Newcastle has passed a resolution, which, as reported in the *Daily Herald*, as we write, appears to indicate a realisation of this important truth.

It says:—

"*We call upon the Trade Union movement of this country at once to draw up a Workers' Charter, embodying the Workers' Republic, where the first charge on industry shall be the maintenance of those employed in industry, where managerial functions shall be carried out by those fitted for the positions, and such functions be carried out in the interests of the whole nation instead of the interests of those who live on investment.*"

The resolution does not state whether its intention is that the Workers' Charter should be brought forward in the present struggle, but presumably that is what is meant.

GENOA.

Genoa is the symbol of the decline of the Russian Revolution and the departing of the Soviet Government from the effort to secure Communism.

The *New York Herald* has it that Lenin has said:—

"*The man I chiefly want to meet face to face is Mr. Lloyd George. He has shown repeatedly that he is a realist. I feel that with him an understanding is possible.*"

That is probably a libel: we hope so.

Unfortunately there is more evidence for the statements that the Russian Soviet Government is stating that its representatives will say to World Capitalism at Genoa: "We need you: you need us. Let us work together as far as we need each other."

We say, advisedly, the Russian Soviet Government; we do not say Soviet Russia, or the Russian workers, in this connection; for such utterances are purely official Government utterances: they are not the utterances of the people; they are not the utterances of the Communist workers. In our opinion, however well-meant they may be, they are grievously opposed to the real interests of Communism which knows no frontiers, of the Russian workers, and of the international proletariat.

The price of the invitation for the Soviet Government representatives to Genoa, was an assurance that Communism had been abandoned; but even that will not secure fair dealing, even as between fellow capitalist governments at Genoa. The reason of that is partly that there will be no fair dealing for anyone at Genoa: it will be, as all such gatherings are, a trial of strength. By their strength the stronger will dominate and plunder the weaker: ask Germany; ask China! Moreover the Bolsheviki, even if they have promised to play the game of Capitalism now, will be regarded as not-to-be-trusted upstarts by the old established pillars of reaction. Soviet Russia will be treated at Genoa as a goose to be plucked, a victim to be enchained.

The much advertised squabbling between the various sections in the British Coalition Government and the various Allied Governments respecting Genoa are mere trivial side issues as compared with the great cleavage between Communism and Capitalism, Capital and Labour, the Propertied and the Propertyless. We are unable to display any interest in Lloyd George's possible resignation.

Trotsky's story of Georgia is interesting enough. But how are we to reconcile his denunciations of the Mensheviki in all lands, including Kautsky and Henderson, and his accusation that they formed a United Front with the capitalists against Soviet Russia, with the olive branch invitation of Trotsky and the others of the Third International to form a united front with those same Mensheviki?

We are unable to reconcile such political jugglery.

ULSTER.

Those who are promoting and encouraging the terrible outrages in Belfast and the Ulster border counties are always loud in denouncing the workers and accusing them of resorting to brutality and violence when they attempt to secure any social change. It is grievous that humble people, who do not understand the forces which are using them, should be the tools in this appalling conflict.

See now how complacently the British Government regards the long series of Ulster outrages, and remember how immediately it brought the power of its arms to bear on the rebels of Easter Week. Notice, too, that here and there the police are already interfering with mild Trade Union activities in the engineering Lock-Out, and remember Winston Churchill's plan for the blockade of Wales in the event of a serious miners' strike.

THE DOLE.

The unemployment dole is not to be cut, because to cut it would cause unrest: plainly that. But how backward we are!

PORTSMOUTH COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY.

A crowded meeting was held by the Portsmouth Communist Workers' Party in the large Trades Hall, Fratton, on March 26th.

The Portsmouth Socialist Sunday School provided a charming musical programme, including violin solos by Connie Grey, and songs by the children's choir, who gave "The International" in English and Esperanto. The Superintendent of the Sunday School explained that the teaching includes astronomy, geology, the history of the human race, and rise of civilisation.

The Chair was taken by a Portsmouth comrade who gave an enthusiastic address. Sylvia Pankhurst spoke on Communism and the Second, Third, and Fourth Internationals. The collection and literature sales amounted to over £7. Work done by the Communist Saturday Working Party was on sale at the meeting. It is to be observed that the women members are most active in this direction, and that the men of the Party should bestir themselves in a display of craftsmanship, in order that they may not be out-shone in this respect.

RIGHT WING COMMUNIST CONFERENCE.

It is with some difficulty that the Right Wing C.P., based on a mistaken and futile policy, is kept together. Its more active and advanced elements intensely dislike its proposal to affiliate to the Labour Party, the support it gives to obsolete Trade Unions, and its Parliamentary policy. The genuine working class Communist is appealed to to accept such points of policy on the score of unity, and especially unity with the Russian Revolution, and this appeal has more effect than such absurd theatrical utterances as that of T. A. Jackson, who said:—

"It might be urged that in affiliating with the Labour Party, they would be virtually shaking hands with those leaders of the Second International who were in effect the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. This was true. . . . 'I would take them by the hand!—as a preliminary to taking them by the throat!'"

Those who speak in that strain certainly rate very low the intelligence of their hearers.

The story that Communists must affiliate to the Labour Party and form a united front with reactionary Labour officials, in order to get to the masses, was rightly answered by Garrett, a Liverpool fireman:—

"As a working class party we must understand what the working man thinks. So far 'Henry' recognises that the Trade Union leades are nothing more nor less than a bunch of fakirs. While we ourselves believe that they are not to be trusted, yet we are expected to go in with them, with the dirt that we are trying to clean. 'Henry' will say (to use his own terms) 'Those Communists are a lot of twisters like the Labour Party.' Clynes said the other day, definitely his party was not a class party. Not that I would advocate the Communist Party being a secluded group, but I do want our Party to be absolutely a working class party, with a revolutionary outlook that the masses can look to and say, 'those fellows might have funny ideas, but they are clean and they can fight.'"

Garrett pointedly asked Harry Pollitt, the mover of the Unity Front resolution:

"Shall we support the obsolete Trade Unions and reactionary leaders?"

Pollitt, the one-time leader of unofficial workshop committees, replied "Yes."

The Unity Front resolution proposed unity of all sections, on the following reformist basis:—

1.—Resistance to wages cuts.

2.—Resistance to increased working hours.

3.—Resistance to attacks on existing protective regulations, Trade Union or political.

4.—Resistance to employers' attacks on Trade Unions.

5.—Work or full maintenance for the unemployed.

6.—Recognition of the Russian Soviet Government by the British capitalist Government.

The resolution stated:—

"On the basis of the above programme, the Communist Party expresses its willingness to join whole-heartedly with all other working class parties."

The Right Wing Communist Party reserves to itself (what it endeavours unsucessfully to deny to its fellow Communists) "freedom of criticism in all cases" and "*freedom of action in movements other than those upon which mutual agreement has been arrived at.*"

As the Labour Party caucus will lay down a policy on all important movements, and as the Labour Party (should it decide to tolerate C.P. affiliation) will expect the C.P. to toe the line, freedom of action is largely given away by this resolution.

The Executive Resolution declaring for work in and through the existing industrial organisations repeated, of course, the well-known Moscow policy on this question, which is in harmony with the attempt to secure affiliation to the Labour Party.

The position was contested point by point by a minority of delegates, who lost all along the line.

Neither the Right Wing C.P. nor the R.I.L.U. have yet done anything to form unofficial workshop committees. That was to be expected, since the international executives of both these bodies have declared against the formation of unofficial workshop committees. Nevertheless, the feeling in support of the workers' committee remains so strong amongst the membership of the Right Wing C.P. that the executive resolution made a concession to this sentiment in the following phrase:—

"The Communist Party further supports the formation of workshop and factory committees comprised of workers within a given plant, working with, and not antagonistic to, the official Trade Unions. . . ."

This was not the idea of the functions of the workshop committee once held by those promoters of the resolution, Messrs. Gallacher, McManus and others; but let that pass.

An amendment to the official resolution was moved by a certain Fabian-Heraldite band of recent sticklers for the Moscow policy, including Messrs. Page Arnot, Mellor, and Postgate. It shows how popular the word Communism has become that such persons are to be found in a Communist Party. Their amendment ran as follows:—

"The Communist Party further supports the formation of workshop committees when circumstances permit, representing the mass of the workers in any given workshop, for general working class agitation; but the Communist Party gives no countenance to the establishment of small non-party sectarian bands outside or inside the workshop, which only duplicate the duties of Communist nuclei."

The amendment, which was really disclosing certain fears and intentions of the Right Wing C.P. Executive policy, was lost, probably because it happened not to have been promoted by the Executive.

A Thesis on Party organisation could not be discussed for lack of time. A Liverpool delegate moved that the Conference elect a Commission to discuss it. An amendment was moved and carried by 73 votes to 43 that the Commission consist half of Executive officials and half rank and file members selected by the Executive.

Well, well; they are not very independent, these rank and filers of the Right Wing C.P.!

The following resolution contains points of interest:—

"That this Conference having endorsed the tactics of affiliation to the Labour Party and the principle of working with and in the Trade Unions, declares its support of the following methods and measures for securing the realisation of a united working class front:

"(*a*) The C.P. officially denies the charge that it desires to enter the Labour Party 'merely' to disrupt it, and declares that it seeks affiliation in order to secure the political unity of the working class and to influence the Labour Party in the direction of Communism;

"(*b*) The C.P. is prepared generally to support Labour Party candidates at the polls, but reserves to itself the right to oppose in glaring reactionary cases where it is found that a considerable section of the organised working class support such opposition to reactionary characters;

"(*c*) The C.P. declares its disapproval of all tactics having merely a disruptive effect on the L.P., I.L.P., S.L.P., Anarchists, or other working class elements, and holds that the C.P. should devote its energies to a straight attack on Capitalism and the capitalist;

"(*d*) The C.P. seeks to gain the confidence of the masses by approaching the workers in our propaganda campaigns in the most sympathetic manner and by members of the Party assuming positions of responsibility and undertaking the defence of the working class on every issue large and small, affecting the working class welfare;

"(*e*) The C.P. grants permission and encourages Party members to become individual members of the Labour Party, subject to Clause 12 in the Constitution, in order to strengthen the Communist influence in the L.P.."

One wonders which will cease first, the C.P. attacks on the Labour Party, or on the Communist Workers' Party; but (*b*), (*c*) and (*e*) were referred back to the Executive for further consideration.

This, also, is interesting:—

"(*f*) This Conference declares its willingness at any time to enter into any conference or negotiations between working class parties that have for their object consolidation of the working class movement, no matter whether these conferences be initiated by Right or Left sections. To show their good faith, the conference instructs the E.C. to seek methods of approaching working class organisations of this country, including the I.L.P., S.L.P., Anarchists, Left Wing and anti-Parliamentarians, S.D.F., Fabian Society, Labour Party, etc., to put before them the proposals of the United Front. Further, it instructs them to draw up the points in which the invitation to a united front will be made in accordance with the general resolution already adopted."

Yet a fortnight ago Comrade A. Carford of Sheffield was expelled for addressing a letter to the *Workers' Dreadnought*.

REVOLUTION OR REFORM?

The Third Communist International originally sent out a call to the workers to unite, not for the reform, but for the abolition of Capitalism. Now the call is changed. The Third International cries "Reform," not "Revolution." Here is another instance of the change: the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International in Moscow calls for the following reforms:

I.

1.—Minimum wages, corresponding to the minimum cost of living.

2.—Fight against violation of the eight-hour day, against trade education after working hours and for the establishment of the six-hour day for minors.

3.—Provision for the young unemployed.

4.—Establishment of educational shops for the young unemployed.

5.—24 hour Sunday rest.

6.—Four weeks' yearly vacation with full pay.

7.—Prohibition of night and Sunday work.

8.—Abolition of the work of minors in trades and factories which are injurious to their health. (Certain branches of the chemical industry, underground work in mines, etc.)

II.

FOR APPRENTICES.

1.—Limitation of the number of apprentices.

2.—Abolition of individual indentures, apprentices to be included in collective agreements.

3.—Control of the employment of apprentices by the Trade Unions and the shop councils.

A while ago we were told that all such reforms are futile. Let us consider one of them:

"*Limitation of Apprentices.*"

The object of that is to protect from the competition of the young, low-paid lad, the adult skilled worker. But what does the limitation of apprentices mean to the lads: it means that a larger number than usual are pushed back into the ranks of the unkilled, denied the right ever to become a skilled worker and to earn a skilled man's pay. The fact that many boys are debarred by the poverty of their parents and the rules concerning apprenticeship from becoming skilled workers is always a crying evil and one that tends to divide the working class and to undermine its solidarity. To limit the number of apprentices increases this evil, though in the meantime it protects the adult worker. One is always in a cleft stick when one endeavours to reform the capitalist system.

From the class solidarity standpoint, it would be better to call for the abolition of apprenticeship than for its limitation.

THE IRON HEEL.
BY JACK LONDON.
Price 2s.

THE MISTAKES OF THE GUILDSMEN.

*"Guild Socialism Re-stated," by G. D. H. Cole, Leonard Parsons, Portugal Street. Price 6s.**

In this book, Mr. Cole has made a woefully unsuccessful attempt to visualise a non-capitalist system. He cannot rid himself of the ideology of the shopkeeper, the banker and the employer.

In his "Self-Government in Industry," published in 1917, Mr. Cole sketched out his idea of Guild Socialism. It was a combination of Syndicalism and State Socialism. Apparently the scheme he then propounded seemed to him fairly complete, for he said:—

> "We are the world's builders; and, unless we lay down our foundations truly, the whole structure which we rear will come tumbling to the ground, no matter how fine our architecture may be. *Guildsmen are well pleased with their architects;* they have now to make equally sure of their builders."

In his present work, "Guild Socialism Re-Stated," Mr. Cole has made substantial changes in the architecture with which he was so well pleased. This is all to the good; perhaps he will at last arrive at the Communist goal, though he is still exceedingly far away.

In his book of 1917, Mr. Cole's Guild Socialism demanded a National Guild Council and the retention of Parliament and the present local governing bodies. Should there be a dispute (the "Guildsmen," as Mr. Cole and his followers call themselves, are always anticipating disputes), a body representing both Parliament and the Guild Council, would settle it.

Mr. Cole then thought that the Trade Unions and Parliament were analogous bodies; for he regarded them as both having begun as "a half-articulate challenge to autocracy, the one in the industrial, the other in the political sphere. He observed that "gaining recognition as a critical force," Parliament became, after centuries of struggle, the legislative body and subordinated to itself the executive.

It seems to us that Parliament has by no means "subordinated to itself the executive"; but let that pass. Mr. Cole indicated that the Trade Unions in their own sphere would pass through similar stages. They would develop from a critical force to "direct and positive power," then Parliament and the Unions now called the Guilds, would reign side by side.

In his latest book he has changed all that. Previously he went a-borrowing to the Fabians and the Syndicalists; now he has borrowed also from Soviet Russia. To do so is becoming popular. Mr. Cole has decided to Russify his Parliament, or, to be more accurate, to Soviet-Governmentise it. He does not exactly copy the Russian patchwork, and he uses some different terms; but he comes very near to it. Instead of Parliament and the local governing bodies, he substitutes National Communes and Local Communes: Village Communes, Town Communes, Township Communes, Regional Communes—the larger bodies being formed of delegates from the smaller.

In his earlier book, Mr. Cole made the general ballot of members in given districts, or in given trades, the main method of election in his Guilds. But now he chooses the Russian method, saying he approves indirect election, if checked by the re-call. He even boldly cuts the roots of popular election away by dictating that if a delegate be appointed by a committee to represent it as a delegate, he will cease to represent and be subject to recall by the original electors. Only the committee which has sent him to sit on another committee can now recall him.

Still more Russian is the basic composition of Mr. Cole's Commune. He explains how it would be formed in a single town—Norwich:—

> "(*a*) A number of Industrial Guilds, organising and managing various industries and economic services, united in a Guild Council of delegates or representives drawn from these guilds;
>
> "(*b*) A Co-operative Council;
>
> "(*c*) A Collective Utilities Council;
>
> "(*d*) A number of Guilds organising and managing various civic services—Civic Guilds;
>
> "(*e*) A Cultural Council;
>
> "(*f*) A Health Council.

This mixture is called the Commune, and acts as the counter-balance of the Guild Council in Mr. Cole's scheme; the Commune representing the individual as consumer, the Guild Council as producer, according to the favourite Guild Socialist fallacy.

It should be explained that the Cultural Council consists of representatives of the Education Guild (composed of teachers) and of representatives elected by all the citizens. The Health Council has a similar dual composition, and other such Councils are foreshadowed, as beside the railway guilds, electric guilds, etc., there may be organisations of railway users, electricity users, and so on. Moreover, there are the Co-operatives, representative of domestic consumers, and the Collective Utilities Councils representative of collective consumers.

As you see, dear readers, a complicated array.

But let us come now to the real crux of the matter. Is Mr. Cole proposing a Communist State, or is he not? Has his brand of Guild Socialism any claim to be called Socialism at all?

In his earlier book Mr. Cole had a section entitled *The Abolition of the Wage System.* That title read hopefully, but it turned out to mean merely this:—

> "(1) Recognition and payment as a human being, and not merely as the mortal tenement of so much labour power for which an efficient demand exists.
>
> "(2) Consequently, payment in employment and unemployment, in sickness and in health alike.
>
> "(3) Control of the organisation of production, in co-operation with his fellows.
>
> "(4) A claim upon the product of his work, also exercised in co-operation with his fellows."

This, of course, is not the abolition of wages at all! Poor Mr. Cole cannot conceive of really abolishing wages and money and buying and selling; the air of the counting-house hangs about him.

In his present work he proposes that the Guilds should draw up wages scales, and these should be submitted to the Guilds Congress, and then further submitted to the National Commune. Red tape will certainly be the most plentiful commodity in Mr. Cole's Guild Society. He further says "equality of income cannot, and must not be made a condition of the establishment of the Guild system." He does not appear to favour equal wages; but he believes that eventually the national income will be divided "among the members of the community, without regard to any particular work or service."

One would have liked to believe Mr. Cole means by this, that all will be entitled to the free, unmeasured use of social products. Evidently, however, he contemplates an actual division of money—a really foolish idea.

Everything is to be bought and sold in the Guild Socialist Community. Individuals and Guilds will buy and sell, and the Communal Councils will regulate the budgets of the Guilds. In the present book this is clear, but the details are less explicit than in the earlier volume; perhaps Mr. Cole feels less sure that he will remain satisfied with his architecture.

Mr. Cole does not contemplate the complete socialisation of production, either industrial or agricultural. He does not propose the complete abolition of hired labour. He says:—

> "I simply do not feel that it is practicable to deny to the small-scale producers, whether individual or associative groups, all right to employ others."

That is because you still cling to the wages system, Mr. Cole. If we all lived as brothers and sisters, taking what we required of the common produce, a man could confidently ask: "Will you help me to get in my hay before the rain comes?" without any question of payment, because his hay would be something in which everyone would be interested, and because brotherly relations would obtain between the people.

Mr. Cole observes that the community will, under Guild Socialism, prevent men from exploiting the labour of wives and children.

If he were abolishing wages and buying and selling, a man would have neither incentive nor power to exploit the labour of his wife and children, nor of anyone else.

Mr. Cole further suggests that a man may work as a member of the Agricultural Guild on a large-scale farm, and also work a small-scale farm of his own. He would undertake the double work to earn double wages, we suppose, and probably he would sell his produce at a lower price than that asked by the Guild.

Oh, Mr. Cole, what a foolish morass you have got yourself into, all because you cannot get away from the shopkeepers' frame of mind. Have you ever read Kropotkin's "Conquest of Bread," Mr. Cole? Study that book. We believe, when you have done so, you will not contemplate that a man living in a free society will choose to spend all his day planting cabbages for the Guild, and then go home in the evening to plant more cabbages in his own little patch, in order to earn a little more money.

Mr. Cole does not agree with Kropotkin that we should all take a hand in the productive work not done by the black-coated fraternity.

Mr. Cole's Communes are to control the Army and the police. These will be needed, of course, in the community of his desire, for private property and wagery would continue.

* May be obtained through the *Dreadnought* office, 152 Fleet Street, which supplies all publications.

ESPERANTO.

LA DUPIEDULO.

(*Daŭrigo.*)

Li volis eliri el ilia vojo, sed li ne povis. La virino de la dupiedulo haltigis lin kaj rigardadis la vunditan piedon.

— Mi helpos al vi, mizera besto, ŝi diris atendu nur, ankaŭ mi tranĉis mian piedon antaŭ nelonge kaj resanigis ĝin per herboj.

La hundo komprenis, ke si volas bonfari al li. Li Trankvile stariĝis, dum ŝiforkuris por alporti herbojn. Dume la dupiedulo karesis lian dorson kaj afable parolis al li. Poste revenis la virino kun la herboj, surmetis ilin sur la vunditan piedon kaj ĉirkaŭligis ĝin per herbero.

— Nun estas bone, ŝi diris, morgaŭ vi denove povos kuradi.

Ili iris pluen, sed la hundo stariĝis, rigardis post ili kaj balancis la voston. La bestoj alvenis.

— Vi parolis kun la fremduloj, kion ili diris? Kiaj ili estis? Ili demandis ĥore.

— Ili estas pli bonaj ol la aliaj bestoj en la arbaro, diris la hundo, ili ĉirkaŭligis mian piedon kaj karesis mian dorson. Tion mi meniam forgesos.

— Ili ĉirkaŭligis la malsanan piedon de la hundo, ili karesis lian dorson. . . . Tiel estis dirita de buŝo al buŝo en la arbaro. La arbaroj murmuretis tion unu al la alia, la floroj ekĝemis kaj ekbalancis la kapon. La kvarpieduloj kuradis kun la historio kaj la najtingalo muzikigis ĝin. La novaj bestoj plueniris kaj ne pensis plu pri la hundo.

Fine ili laciĝis tiel, ke ili devis sidiĝi. Ili trinkis el la fonto kaj ridis vidinte siajn propajn spegulfigurajojn en la akvo.

Ili prenis sukajn fruktojn de la arboj kaj manĝis. Kiam la suno malleviĝis, ili kuŝiĝis en la herbon kaj ĉirkaŭpreninte unu la alian, ekdormis. Ne malproksime de ili la hundo kuŝis, kiu sekvis iliajn postsignojn, metis la kapon inter siajn antaŭpiedojn kaj rigardis ilin.

La luno lunis sur ilin kaj rekte en la vizaĝegon de la bovo, kiu alproksimiĝis por viziti ilin.

— Buh, diris la bovo.

— Beh, diris la luno. Kion vi rigardas tie ĉi?

— Mi rigardis tiujn-ci, kiuj tie kuŝas kaj dormas, respondis la bovo. Ĉu vi konas ilin?

— Sajnas al mi kvazau antaŭ multaj, multegaj jaroj similaj kreitaĵoj estus gratadintaj sur mi; diris la luno. Sed mi ne povas tion certe diri. Mia memoro estas malfortiĝinta dum la lastaj centmil jaroj. Jam estas tre malfacila al mi kunteni miajn pensojn por la cielvojaĝo.

— Ho, la pensado estas ankaŭ mia malforta flanko, diris la bovo. Sed mi timas.

— Tiujn-ci? demandis la luno.

— Mi ne povas klarigi, diris la bovo, sed mi malamas ilin.

— Mortigu do ilin, diris la luno.

— Mi ne havas kuraĝon, diris la bovo; almenaŭ sole ne, sed eble mi trovos helpontojn.

— Min ne, diris la luno, al mi ili malbonfaris nenion.

Kaj la luno foriris. La bovo restis remaĉante, sed giaj pensoj neniel volis antaŭeniri.

(*Daŭrigota*).

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

COMMUNIST LIFE.

Comrade Cahill, whose letter on this subject we recently published, has sent us this letter with a request for pub'ication.

DEAR EDITOR—

The following interesting reply has been sent to my remarks on Communist practice, which appeared in your columns as well as in other periodicals:—

COMRADE—

In reply to your letter in current issue of the *Forward*, anent voluntary Communism. The view-point therein expressed, I have long held and have endeavoured in some measure to put into practice. It was therefore with pleasure I noted your point of "Communist Associations" somewhat similar to my own.

With the object of confirming this, I herewith set forth my outlook on the subject, at the same time, I would express my readiness to work whole-heartedly with other comrades of a like mind.

I have associated myself with various political and Industrial Groups in different parts of the world, but it seems to me that these fail miserably in inculcating "Communism" into the masses, because the great majority of the workers have no political tendencies.

Recognising the truth of the saying: "The best way to get an idea generally accepted is to put it into practice," I feel convinced that "Communist Associations" would prove of great value in countering Capitalist "teaching," besides being powerful auxiliaries to the Political and Industrial Groups throughout the country.

I do not myself claim to have entirely shaken free from capitalist ways of thought, in spite of a close study and following of Socialist activity. At certain times I have caught myself reasoning from a capitalist standpoint. I attribute this to the need for closer social contact with kindred minds.

Now, regarding Communist Practice within Capitalism, it seems to me it is not so "Utopian" as the *doctrinaire* school would have us believe. I recognise that there is a tendency to forget the *real* issue, i.e., the Class Struggle, and also without rigid self-discipline, that product of capitalistic "teaching," "maudlin' sentiment" is apt to creep in; nevertheless, to the really serious Communist, these factors should present no insuperable obstacles.

If I have interpreted history correctly, I am convinced that the final collapse of Capitalism will prove a "bloody" business, and this necessitates Capitalist subtlety being met with Communist subtlety.

With the foregoing remarks as a guide to assist you in judging whether we are "parallel in our ideas," I now set forth, very crudely, my notions on Communal Practice, one example, I have no doubt, will suffice.

Suppose A to be Cobbler, B is a Chimney-sweep and C is a Carpenter. A needs his chimney swept; B needs his boots repaired. A repairs B's boots. B sweeps A's chimney. Result: both have their immediate needs satisfied—wage system abolished. But suppose A has no immediate need, whilst B needs his boots repairing, and A knowing C requires his chimney sweeping, whilst A needs some carpentering done. A repairs B's boots and requests him to sweep C's chimney, and C in return executes A's carpentering job. Result: each comrade's immediate needs satisfid according to respective abilities. I think the foregoing is capable of great possibilities, especially in days to come.

A few comrades here are actually carrying out the mutual aid, in a restricted way, of course. So far as we have pushed it, the experiment warrants the belief that its scope could be extended over a much wider field if the sincere believers in Communism could be got together in order to work out a plan of action.

Utopian as the idea appears at first sight, it is historically certain that something of the kind existed in remote times among the "ancient lowly (*see* O. Ward's *Ancient Lowly* and Lewis Morgan's *Ancient Society*). I consider these two works the most valuable in the whole gamut of Socialist literature.

I should be pleased to co-operate in the work of organising Communist Practice on a larger scale. I would give you my willing co-operation in inaugurating such a movement.

Yours fraternally,
"DIONYSUS."

It should be observed, I think, that the above plan, which I am glad to learn, is actually being tried out in practice, may more accurately be described as "Non-Co-operation with Capitalism" than Communism. The comrades who are making this attempt are progressively dispensing with the middlemen and the traders, the numerous parasites who stand between the producer and the consumer, and uselessly increase the burden of Labour. Nevertheless, the transactions sketched out above appear to be in the nature of barter and not yet free service and free use of the collective product. This Comrade refers to Osborne Ward's description of the trade organisations of pre-Christian and early Christian times. Ward distinctly states that whilst those unions traded with outsiders, the member of the union practiced Communism amongst themselves, holding all things in common, as a family does, sharing a common table.

It is not easy to live as Communists in the midst of Capitalism. Any attempt thereto is to be welcomed, however tentative and imperfect; but the object should always be to avoid barter as well as sales for actual money, as far as possible.

Where possible, it would be best to agree that the bootmaker should supply freely all the needs in that direction of the comrades in the group. The chimney sweep sweeping all the chimneys of the group, and so on.

It may be objected that the bootmaker may be kept the greater part of his time making boots for the group, the members of which are only able to supply him with a part of his needs by their work, whilst the services of the chimney sweep are only occasionally required by the group, and he has the greater part of his time for making money, whilst the bootmaker has no time for that. A group that goes into the effort wholeheartedly will readily overcome such difficulties. The sweep will put his earnings towards the common fund for transactions with the outer world, for supplying mechanical aid, and so on. He may also find he is able to serve the group in other ways, if only by cleaning windows.

It is not necessary that the group should go on to the land to start operations. Comrades can begin wherever they are, gradually extending the circle of Communist services.

The sharing of domestic work is an easy point at which to begin. The children of the group would benefit greatly if their mothers took turns really to give up their entire attention to organising work and play for them.

Both fuel and labour may be greatly economised by group co-operation, especially amongst neighbours who are close at hand.

Every member of the group should be animated by the desire to emancipate the group from capitalist services as far as possible, and make the life of the whole group as complete as possible.

Every group should consider it a duty to carry on propaganda for Communism, explaining that if the great productive machinery which the community possesses were placed at the general service, splendid results might be obtained.

I think the effort recunted by "Dionysus" is most encouraging.

Yours, etc., S. CAHILL.

To the Editor of the *Workers' Dreadnought*:—

DEAR COMRADE—

There are many of us, I am sure, that will welcome the letter of Comrade S. Cahill in the issue of March 11th, 1922.

This comrade strikes the keynote of a much needed side to our movement, which it is fair to assume is most necessary of development.

He (or she) says: "believe . . . we ought to make more effort to practice our belief. Example is always better than precept," and "it seems to me that association for Communist life is needed and has a great work before it."

May I call your readers' attention to an excellent "example," a Commonwealth in being, which would be invaluable in any attempt which may be made to put our principles into practice.

In the Newllano Co-operative Colony at Leesville, Louisiana, U.S.A., we have the very *example* of Communism in practice that might be duplicated in this country with great advantage to our movement.

In Newllano we have a *working model*, where between two and three hundred people joyfuily associate together by "mutual service and o-operation."

A comrade visiting Newllano, not long ago, says:—

> "For many years I have been searching for Socialism. I know it through its literature and propaganda; but have never seen it in action—but I find it in action here in the Colony, and I am glad and proud of you."

I may add that we have taken their papers weekly and monthly, and have been in correspondence with them for some time with a view to making an effort to seeing if there is a possibility of taking the first step towards the starting of a Colony somewhere in the British Isles.

We hope that Comrade Cahill's and others' views and our own, may be enough alike to bring realism out of idealism.

Yours for economic equality,
LEIGH ROTHWELL.

KUZBAS.—*Continued from page* 1.

If every Russian inhabitant of the district becomes automatically a member of the Foreign Workers' Unit, why is it called a Foreign Workers' Unit?

If all inhabitants, men and women, do not automatically become members of the Unit, what are the conditions of membership?

We further ask: do the Soviets function in Kuzbas?

If so, how are they constituted, and what is their relationship to the Kuzbas management?

Comrade Rutgers says that the workers cannot live communistically in Kuzbas, because "Socialist" colonies in capitaist countries have not been successful.

As a matter of fact, the world is largely peopled with little Communist colonies, each of which comprises a mother, father and some children—the members of the same family. Though ringed around with Capitalism, they find no need for buying and selling amongst themselves.

If the Kuzbas workers and the Soviet Government alike desired Communism within Kuzbas and amongst the workers of Kuzbas, Communism could be put into practice amongst the Communist dwellers in Kuzbas, and surely there could also be Communist relations of mutual aid between the Soviet Government, if its members are Communists, and the Communist community of Kuzbas?

The tenour of Comrade Rutgers' article is not that which animated the revolutionary movement and put the Bolsheviki into power.

The purpose of the October Revolution was the establishment of Communism: the effort to achieve that ought not to be slackened.

Comrade Rutgers says:—

> "If the American workers receive more than the Russian peasants, it is because they cannot work with their natural efficiency for less."

Can the Russian peasant work at maximum efficiency for less than the American? You are on dangerous ground, Comrade Rutgers; it is the ground occupied by all the apologists of Capitalism.

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